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ABSTRACT

This paper explores social class, gender, Great Britain's Youth Training Scheme, and social reproduction in the context of entry into "caring" careers. Data are drawn from one of a group of ethnographic studies. The focus is on participant observation with a group of 16- to 18-year-old girls training for jobs in the field of institutional care. The paper begins by exploring aspects of the girls' experience of their training and work placements, which involve physically and emotionally stressful tasks, such as coping with violence, dealing with incontinence, and laying out the dead. It then documents a gradual process of adjustment to this type of work that ends with the girls positively seeking work in the field. This discussion serves as the basis for posing the central questions of the paper--why working class girls enter working-class, gender-stereotyped jobs and what role the Youth Training Scheme plays in promoting their adjustment. An explanatory framework is developed that revolves around features of the occupational culture of institutional care, gender socialization in the context of working class families, specific functions of the hidden and visible curriculum of the Youth Training Scheme program, and the wider context of youth unemployment and job scarcity. (14 references.) (YLB)

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INSIDE EDUCATION AND TRAINING: CURRICULUM, GENDER AND OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

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Paper to be presented at ESRC 16-19 Initiative Symposium at AERA, San Francisco, March, 1989.

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INSIDE EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

CURRICULUM, GENDER AND

OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

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Abstract

This paper is about social class, gender, the Youth Training Scheme and social reproduction, which are explored in the context of entry into 'caring' careers. The data is drawn from one of a group of ethnographic studies being undertaken within the context of the ESRC 16-19 Initiative. This particular study is based on participant observation with a group of 16 to 18 year old girls training for jobs in the field of institutional care. The paper begins by exploring aspects of the girls' experience of their training and work placements. These involve physically and emotionally stressful tasks such as coping with violence, dealing with incontinence and laying out the dead. The paper then documents a gradual process of adjustment to this type of work which ends with the girls positively seeking work in this field. This provides a basis for posing the central questions of the paper: why do working class girls enter working class, gender-stereotyped jobs? What role does the Youth Training Scheme play in promoting their adjustment? An explanatory framework is then developed which revolves around: features of the occupational culture of institutional care; gender socialization in the context of working class families; specific functions of the hidden and visible curriculum of the YTS programme; and the wider context of youth unemployment and job scarcity.

Inge Bates

INSIDE EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

CURRICULUM, GENDER AND

OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

INTRODUCTION

Mat: Where's June?

Sally: Wagging off again.

Tutor: Who's wagging off? June?

Mat to Sally: Shut yer mouth. Stupid cow.

Tutor: I don't think she is wagging off anyway. She was going to hospital for her leg.

Mat: Gone to hospital! That's all she does go to hospital. She lives in that fucking hospital. Bleeding, whining minnie.

Anne: That's not very "caring".

Sally: Oh, the old women are joining in now. (Mimics Anne) "That's not very "caring".

Mat to Anne: Shut yer face! I'll say what I want. I can't help not liking people .... I were in hospital with a fucking great blood clot in me leg. They had to inject me with a needle that big (spreads out hands to demonstrate size of needle). I weren't whining about it.

Sally: Oh calm down, you!

Mat: Get lost ....

The above extract from casual conversation introduces the group of YTS care girls who are the main focus of this paper. They are training for semi-skilled jobs in the field of social care, or in the language of the girls to be "shit-shovellers". It is a typical exchange in terms of its aggressiveness, bordering on the kind of "bloody great row", which frequently occurs in the group. On a hypothetical continuum from "tough" to "soft", these girls can be situated at the "tough" end of the spectrum. Within the group, however, as

reflected in the above conversation, individual girls also ranged from "tough" to "soft" with Mat, sometimes called a "fucking cow", at one end of the spectrum and June, "a bleeding, whining, minnie", at the other. However, the more sensitive girls were perceptibly "toughening up" in the course of the training programme and the most aggressive girls were acquiring a degree of self-restraint.

The conversation is also typical in that it expresses what are emerging as constant, interrelated struggles over both the meaning of "caring" as an occupation and the meaning of femininity. Thus Sally, for example, resists and reinterprets the cultural norm which equates caring with femininity by her interjection about "old women". Implicitly she asserts a definition of youthful femininity in terms of "toughness" rather than sensitivity. These struggles and related adjustments are in part a consequence of the relations which obtain between patterns of gender attribution and the supply of labour. The socially constructed equivalence between femininity and qualities of caring, means that in order to work upon definitions of their occupational role as care assistants, the girls must also work upon their definitions of femininity. In contesting what is female, they are ultimately contesting what kind of labour will be supplied for purposes of institutional care around the city. However, their resistance, while subjectively emancipatory, objectively contributes to processes of social reproduction of the class and gender bound culture of "caring".

These processes of individual vocational adjustment, vitally necessary to wider processes of production and supply of labour do not occur in a vacuum. They occur within a specific, socially constructed arena - the Youth Training Scheme. The ways in which the Youth Training Scheme curriculum mediates in

processes of class and gender reproduction is the general subject of this paper. This is explored through examination of a critical case, namely entry into "caring" careers.

The paper is based on initial analysis of ethnographic data derived from one of a group of studies (1) currently being undertaken by the Sheffield team within the wider ESRC 16-19 Initiative. It explores the experience of a group of girls on a YTS programme, training for jobs in the field of social care, chiefly as care assistants in homes for the elderly. The programme is regarded locally as an example of a high quality scheme, with off-the-job training provided in a college of further education and work placements in homes for the elderly, the handicapped and occasionally children's nurseries and hospitals. Within college, training is provided by college lecturers experienced in the field of social care and the course tutor is a senior lecturer in the college. Work placements are mainly in homes managed and inspected by the local authority where standards of provision and training are generally regarded as higher than in privately owned homes. The research so far has involved participant observation on the two year scheme for about a year. During the year I have spent time with first and second year "Care girls", thus observing both new entrants and leavers. Most of the time has been spent with the girls in college, during their off-the-job training, but visits to work placements have also been made. When in college I have attended all formal sessions, engaged in informal chat with groups of girls at coffee-time and between sessions and interviewed all of them individually from time to time.

In the course of the research the general question with which I have been concerned can be seen as a version of the Willisian question namely, why do working class <u>girls</u> get working class, <u>gender-stereotyped</u> jobs. However, the data to be considered presents a variety of contrasts with Willis' research into

the "lads" of "Hammertown" (Willis, 1977), three of which it may be useful to signal at the outset. Firstly, the data relates to girls, whose experience as McRobbie and Garber (1975) and Griffin (1985) have demonstrated was never easily accommodated within Willis' early theoretical frameworks. Secondly, since the research by Willis, McRobbie and Griffin, there has been the growth of feminism and equal opportunities policies; in the light of these developments we might expect some slackening of both labour market and ideological constraints on female career paths and related changes at the level of consciousness and identity.

Thirdly, and most significantly, there is the changed historical context, particularly the re-structured labour market of the 1980s, which has led to a series of fractures in processes of social and cultural reproduction (Wallace, 1987). Such fractures render transparent the historical specificity of the question: why do working class kids get working class jobs? The question, in part, reflected the expanding educational opportunities and relatively buoyant labour market of the sixties and early seventies in which working class kids might have been expected to compete for "middle class" jobs. Their apparent failure to do so generated the paradox which Willis sought to explain and theorize. In the context of the 1980s many working class youth only obtain jobs at all if they are lucky. Consequently, research into school-to-work transitions of this period needs to be explored with particular regard for the implications for socialization of the altered labour market position of youth, together with the impact of the new systems of education and training. This paper attempts to address these issues, focussing particularly upon ways in which the Youth Training Scheme itself contributes to processes of class and gender reproduction.

The analysis which follows divides into three main sections. Firstly, the occupational destinations of the "Care girls" are described drawing on observation of their work placements together with analysis of the girls' descriptions of their jobs. In the second stage of the paper, trainee perspectives on their jobs are examined more closely, focussing on further adjustment in their career horizons over the period of the YTS scheme. Thirdly, the problem of explaining the girls' adjustment to their jobs is explored. The explanatory framework which is developed draws upon gender socialization in the context of working class families and specific functions of the hidden and visible curriculum of the YTS programme, set within the wider context of youth unemployment and job scarcity.

THE WORK ROLES OF THE "CARE GIRLS"

One entry point into the central problematic of this paper is to begin with the jobs themselves. Posed most simply, when we ask why working class kids get working class jobs, what is it that they get? The usual generalized analysis of working class occupations in terms of the mental-manual dichotomy, low pay, monotony and absence of intrinsic satisfaction slides over lived experience, particularly the experience of women. In so doing, such analyses neglect specific forms of accommodation which jobs require and the significance of these for the gender-stereotyping of occupations. In order to develop and test theories of social and cultural reproduction it may be important to unpack the different occupational cultures which form the context of work. The trainees who are the subject of this research were on placements as care assistants in homes for the elderly. The job they do was summarized thus by Claire:

I.B.: (...) Can you give me an idea of what happens during the day?

Claire Get there at half past seven ....

I.B.: Half past seven in the morning? What time do you leave?

Claire: Half past six ....

I.B.: And what time are you up, six?

Claire: Five.

I.B. (with some astonishment)
Five! Does it take you an hour and a half ... well I suppose you've got to get the bus ...

Claire: I've got to get to the bus stop, but I like to have a bath to wake me up in the morning and wash my hair and dry it before I go out, otherwise I'd be dropping to sleep all day. We get there at half past seven, we wake them all up and get them dressed, we sit them in the lounge until about ... well the first ones go in about half past seven, 'cos some of the night staff get them that want to get up, they get them up for six, then by the time they've got the last few up it's time for into breakfast so we take them into the dining room, serve breakfast out, that's about eight and when they've eaten it, cleared it up, cleared all the pots away, that's about nine o'clock, half past nine. And then we set all the tables again for dinner time and then half of the morning staff, about three of us go and have us breakfast for half an hour and then we come out and then the rest of the staff go in and have their breakfast. So there's somebody on duty all the time, and then after we've all had us breakfast, two of us take the drinks trolley round, a cup of tea and that, that's about half past ten. And we take the mid morning drink, they have a cup of tea in the lounge, and the rest of us do the laundry and just wandering round being on duty and that. Then after you've washed all the pots up, you have a break, we all sit down together in the tea bar, so we can see all the lounges then, and after that, it's about half past twelve and we get them into dinner. And then we go and have our dinner because the afternoon staff come on at half past one. And at half past one after they've had their dinner, the residents, we go and have our dinner, then we come back and we just do the laundry again, taking laundry out and tidying the bedrooms and then, about half past three, we hand over, like what morning staff know, we write it down in a book and then afternoon staff know what's happened in the morning. And about four o'clock we take them into tea and at half past four we go home.

This is an account drawn from an early interview with one of the "care girls". It is a quasi official picture of the day's routines and, while clearly denoting a demanding day, glosses her arcane knowledge of what the job actually

entails. As I came to spend more time with the girls in college and work-places, "work talk" figured frequently in their everyday interaction. From such talk and observation, it emerged that the job involved some particularly arduous tasks, three of which are highlighted in the following extracts.

A constant theme in the girls' discussion of work was the residents themselves, many of whom are senile and confused and could be physically violent. Hence violence, being "whacked", "smacked", "given a belt", often feature in their accounts.

Coping with violence

Marie I don't know, I never feel like hitting them. I must save it for when I get home 'cos everybody says that they drive them crackers and that, you know, when they keep going off. But they don't me. And like one, she keeps biting me, hitting me and grabbing hold of me hair when I'm trying to take her shoes off, and she's yanking me about, and I just laugh it off, it doesn't bother me.

Pam I'll never forget the day Mary Smith whacked me in the stomach and I felt .... I actually flew across the bed and I landed on the floor on the other side of the bed. And another time she punched me that hard I just fell into the wardrobe and slid down it. She were ... well, she were senile, not confused.

I.B. You fell into a wardrobe and slid down it?

Pam Yes because she whacked me that hard.

I.B. How did you fall down the wardrobe?

Pam Well, she was stood up and she whacked me and I fell on to the wardrobe and then just slid down it.

Marie There's one at our place and he's quite frightening really. He's ever so strong. And he gets high sometimes, he's on drugs to keep him low, but he had an accident, and it's not because he's old that he's in there, it's because he's got brain damage and everyone said he should be in a mental home, because he's not really safe to be there, and he just flings out. And he's hit me once or twice and it does hurt.

Marie ... I won't hit him back or anything, 'cos I just feel sorry for him, because he knows that h biting me, hitting me and grabbing hold of me hair when I'm trying to take her shoes off, and she's yanking me

about, and I just laugh it off, it doesn't bother me.

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Marie ... I won't hit him back or anything, 'cos I just feel sorry for him, because he knows that he's ..... 'cos once he was saying to me, he was saying: 'Can you remember what I were like before this?', and he's always looking at his hands. He cries and I feel really sorry for him. And I can't hit him 'cos he's hurt me. I never really would have.

Pam I've never hit one of the residents. I mean, that's why Mary Smith were like she were, she were that senile that the drugs she were on were making her lash out. It's when .... It's when the drugs calm them down, they're taking drugs to calm them down and when the drugs are wearing off that's when they start getting ... lashing out at you. 'Cos the drugs are wearing off and they need to take some more drugs.

Marie But I think they can be really frightening sometimes.

Pam I can. A lot frighten me. Mary Smith ... she used to ... you know, I used to dread it when somebody used to say 'will you get Mary Smith up'. I used to think 'Oh my God, not Mary Smith, not Mary Smith please'. Because I knew that she hadn't took her medication and she'd be in one of her moods, she were most likely to give me a good crack round the earhole - she used to say to me, she says 'You're only a child you', which is right, she's right, I am only a child.

In relation to such incidents the girls typically report mixed feelings of pity, fear, absolute dread of particular patients, the struggle to repress the urge to retaliate, their pride in not doing so and, occasionally, their own violence.

Interwoven with accounts of residents' behaviour are descriptions of their physical care, a significant proportion of which consists of what the girls themselves sometimes called "shit shovelling".

Coping with incontinence

Wendy But you're not only looking after old people are you? You've got all that laundry to take out to all them 40 or 50 bedrooms or that, do the beds and wash everybody when you get them up.

Sue And when they get tished up to the eyeballs, and that, done it all over the carpet, and you've got to clean it up. You've got all them beds to make. All that laundry to give out, put clean towels out, do this, do that, even help out in the kitchens sometimes, set tables.

Wendy You can't believe really how much you get done in one day I don't think. I just couldn't believe it.

Sue You get so much done, when you look back on what you've done, you think 'God'.

Wendy If you just go home and you sit down and you make a list of everything you've done that day, how many old people you've changed in one day, how many beds you've made.

I.B. How many might you have changed in one day?

Wendy What, beds or residents? From top to toe?

Sue Some people you change about six times don't you?

Wendy You can change one person, the same person, three times in one day.

Sue With us we can change the same person about six times. You sit down and they do it again.

A complete change of clothing?

Sue Yes. But I mean you can't change them straightaway as soon as they've done it, you've got to be talking about socks, pants, shirt, you know, vests, underneath skirts and shoes.

Wendy They don't realise it.

Sue We toilet them right often but they're still always wet through.

Wendy We toilet ours often. We toilet them ever so regular.

Sue And then there's turning one what's in bed.

Wendy And like when we had that diarrhoea bug going around, if anybody were in a really bad mess, we had to bath them, so they were bathed, three people getting bathed every five minutes.

Sue If they were that tished up you can't just give them a strip wash, they had to go in the bath.

I.B. When you say tished up, is that, you mean ....

Sue Messed up.

I.B. Tished up. I'd just not heard you use that word before.

Sue Well it's better than saying they're shitted up to the eyeballs isn't it?

Whereas being "belted" was reported with anger and dread, coping with incontinence appeared to be more readily accepted. Typically the girls commented when asked about these aspects of their job that: they "didn't mind", "somebody's got to do it", "you've got to see they're comfortable". The social taboo dimensions, and possibly also the associated tension between "shit shovelling" and the "sugar and spice" dimensions of the ideology of femininity are dealt with in part through a humorous language strategy: the reversal of shit to produce "tish".

The most distressing part of the job appeared to be the regular occurrence of death and the processes involved in caring for the dying and dead.

Coping with death

Example 1

Carol .... I've seen four people laid out. Second day I were there I saw somebody die. She like died on me.

I.B. Holding you?

Carol Yes, she were like holding me when she died so that really upset me. I didn't want to go back after that. It really, really upset me. (... Trainee cries again, remembering)

Carol After that one I were alright, I just kept away when anybody died. It were just seeing them being carried out on like a rug thing and put into the black van. I'm alright about it now, it doesn't bother me.

I.B. When you say that you saw somebody laid out, what did that involve?

Carol Washing them and cleaning them all up and that and changing their clothes.

I.B. And were you helping or were you just present?

Carol Well I were helping in like running water and that and passing that but she didn't want me to like help lay out because I were so young. So she just said I can stop in and watch if I want to ..... But I think I feel now that I'm glad I watched. I'm glad I watched then I know what it's like.

Example 2

I.B. Have you been with people when they're dying?

Fiona Yes.

IB Actually dying or, you know, weeks off or ...

Fiona No, dying.

Diane I haven't been with anyone when they're on like their death bed as you put it, but I've been when they've been really ill. It's the things they say that upset you, all their life comes out.

Fiona Yes, they start talking about the past.

Diane It's right upsetting.

Fiona And how they used to enjoy their lives and they'd come out with when their parents died and then they'd come further up to their older life and they'd carry on and carry on.

The girls' distress about such occasions was a regular feature of college life in the first year of YTS. Again, however, as is also the case in their accounts of non-retaliation in dealing with violent patients, they expressed a pride in what they did. In the context of coping with death, it was a pride in their growing "toughness", in becoming unflinching in the face of harsh facts or, in the words of Mat, not being "a bleeding, whining Minnie".

Another way of exploring what the occupation of trainee care assistant involved is through the "coping strategies", which the girls came to employ. I am drawing this concept from classroom research where writers, focussing on teachers, have argued the central importance of such strategies in explaining both teacher adaptations of ideal pedagogic practices (Woods, 1980) and the situational and structural factors which necessitate these (Hargreaves, 1978). Examples of such strategies which were used in the work of the "care girls" were: "keeping out of the way", "telling myself it's for the best" and, most importantly "switching off".

Switching off

Example 1

Diane ... I've gone home and cried. Because it's just upsetting isn't it sometimes? You get worked up.

Fiona When you get like so used to a person,like I'm one of these people if somebody's dying I'll go and sit and talk to them, I get used to them and they just feel part of the family and then they just die and that's it, that hurts doesn't it?

Diane Yes. But you just have to switch off. Like at first when I were going home after I'd been there I were thinking about everyone and it were upsetting me and I were getting right worked up. But now I just switch off. You know when you've left, that's it switch off.

"Switching off" and "not thinking about it" are emerging as the dominant strategies in accommodating to the job of caring for the old en masse in an institutional context. It involves a style of "care" in which the dying person is somewhat de-personalized, allowing the care assistant to control the extent to which she shares in the suffering which she observes. Thus acquiring the capacity to "switch off" is crucial for trainee survival. The tension between caring for and processing people seems integral to the occupational culture. This dictates that staff limit their personal involvement with patients and "keep busy". They are discouraged from spending much time sitting with

residents. "They'd have you cleaning the lampshades if you'd got nothing to do". Thus "keeping busy" serves not only the function of running the institution efficiently, which Melia (1987) has identified within nursing; it also appears to insulate staff from a level of personal involvement which would make the job more emotionally demanding and thus facilitates "switching off".

While coping strategies may allow the girls to "switch off" they are reminded afresh of the awfulness and the "taboo" aspects of the job by the reactions of others. Girls report that friends outside the scheme, boyfriends and parents express surprise and disgust when they hear stories about work.

People's reactions

Example 1: Parents

Judy Me mum sort of looks at me in disgust when I start talking about it. 'Shut up, I'm eating'.

Helen Because there's some things you don't talk about when you're eating.

Judy I mean it's like you're sat having your dinner in like the staff room and they'll just sit and talk about it and it doesn't really bother you because you're used to it and then you go home and you start while you're eating your tea and they feel like throwing up everywhere.

Example 2: Friend

Linda No, she's not here, it's a friend out of college. You know, I grew up, I went through school with her, she stayed on. She's how can I put it, she's clever, she works ever so hard and she's not so ... like when you talk to her about old people, 'oh shut up, shut up, shut up' and she'll cringe and she'll say 'I'm going home if you don't shut up'. She's, you know, all proper and don't like touching ..., I think that sort of personality.

Occupations would appear to vary in the extent to which their contents, in terms of lived experience, can be readily disclosed to wider publics. These trainees are commencing entry into a relatively closed occupational community, a feature of their training which appeared to intensify their identification with the role

of "care assistant".

What, in summary, does the role of care assistant involve for sixteen and seventeen year old YTS trainees? They are essentially extended domestic careers, but extended to include the grimmer - to the exclusion of the lighter - sides of domestic life. The picture which is developing is one of a physically back-breaking and emotionally demanding job, involving an altogether ancient tapestry of female tasks which range from: bedmaking, food serving, bathing, lifting "18 stone women", sitting with the dying and laying out the dead. Swearing and being sworn at, getting a "belt" and occasionally delivering one are taken for granted parts of the day's round. To the outsider the "caring" world is one of pink overalls, cleanliness, jangling keys, "Come along Annie", wheelchairs, walks around the grounds, trolleys, laundry, the ubiquitous institutional smell, dozing residents in television lounges. This is the re-presented, more acceptable face of an occupation, which in effect, in terms of contemporary cultural constructs is a "heavy", "dirty" job, steeped in taboo subject matter such as the body, age, "shit-shovelling" and death. These social responsibilities are transported from the wider society to a sub-society, staffed largely by women. Within this sub-society a partial and truncated version of 'caring' is enacted, involving constant tension between caring for and processing people. Interestingly, the limits to 'caring' are ultimately determined not by women themselves, but by an occupational culture and levels of resourcing which are, arguably, products of patriarchal decision-making processes.

This struggle over the definitions of caring, spills over into a struggle over the definition of femininity. At the level of identity, it is important for the girls to reconcile the "toughness" which the more gruesome aspects of

the job require with youthful femininity and sexuality. Either "caring" jobs must be rendered sensitive, which is not within the girls' orbit of immediate influence, or "femininity" must be stretched to incorporate qualities of being "tough" and unflinching, more normally celebrated as male in cults of "machismo". This again underlines the significance of the dialogue quoted in the introduction to this paper.

ADJUSTMENT TO 'CARING' CAREERS

In some respects the job of assistant in homes for the elderly presents a critical case for examining the role of choice and adjustment in the transition from school to work. Viewed in terms of dominant cultural values, the job can be identified as undesirable on a number of levels. The tasks involved are physically and emotionally demanding and stressful. Much of the job content is both dirty and distressing. The work involves long and often socially inconvenient hours and low pay. One obvious potential criticism which needs to be considered here is that these perspectives on the job reflect the more congenial and hygienic work values and experience of the writer qua academic. However, the perception of the job as exceptionally demanding, stressful and generally unattractive is echoed by the trainees themselves, their tutors and also reflected in the reactions of their friends and family members to 'stories' about work. These aspects of the job have not, however, discouraged many of the trainees from seeking 'caring' careers. The apparent paradox which emerges from the ethnographic data is that, despite the apparently gruelling nature of 'caring' work and the contradiction entailed between occupational role requirements and teenage 'femininity', many of the girls came to accept, moreover became positively enthusiastic about jobs in this field.

In order to explore the possible role of YTS in promoting this general pattern of adjustment, it is important first to examine the ways in which the girls' career plans developed since leaving school and in the course of their experience of the programme. Of the twenty or so girls I have been researching none had decided to work with old people while at school. A wide range of previous ambitions were recalled e.g. beauty therapist, typist, working in big department stores, laboratory technician, working with people, particularly children. Many of the girls had applied for NNEB (Nursery Nurses Examination Board) courses to train to be nursery nurses. Most had been introduced to "Caring" at a careers exhibition promoting YTS schemes. Some had then applied for at least two schemes e.g. hairdressing and "Caring". "Caring" had been presented in terms of generalized information about "working with people": children, the handicapped and the old. By the time they had left school most girls had applied to join the "Caring" scheme, often as a "fall-back" strategy, but occasionally as a first choice. When it was a first choice, it was generally perceived in terms of leading to work with children.

Once the girls entered the YTS scheme three patterns of response were discernible: continued commitment to existing career plans; dropping out; and adjustment of career plans. In the first category were two particularly well-qualified girls who had originally planned to embark on training to become qualified nurses on reaching age 18 and sustained this aspiration. In the second category there were about four trainees, including the only male in the group, all of whom dropped out of the course and became unemployed or pursued alternative career paths. Of these, the case of Judy was quite typical. Judy

had been provided with a work placement in a hospice for the terminally ill and, according to her friend's account found the work too stressful:

> 'I know Judy did, Judy found it hard to work here. She found it too upsetting and she took everything to heart and she'd go home and she'd still think about work and she did find it hard Judy, she wasn't cut out for this job I don't think (...)'

Judy's work attendance became irregular and she was eventually offered a different placement in a home for the elderly. In the course of working there she became pregnant and had now left work to have a baby. The departure of a male trainee, also on placement in the hospice, was similarly explained in terms of excessive sensitivity to the demands of the job:

> 'Tim, he lasted about two or three months. He were a bit scared. He was very nervous and timid (...) and squeamish weren't in it! (...) It was hilarious just to watch him. When you think, its an everyday thing that we're doing, he really took it to heart and I mean, he's passed out once and we've had to rush him off into the coffee room. That was just over something stupid that we do every day. For the men I don't think its a job for a man (...) I know its gonna sound chauvinist but I think a nursing job is for a woman. Because they've got all the loving and caring and things like that.'

In the case of the young man, however, a more extended explanation of his weaknesses was offered involving a gender model of analysis. This also served to underline the trainee's own pride in what she perceived as essentially feminine attributes.

By far the largest category of trainees, however, were those who adjusted their career plans. After approximately six months on the scheme, they appeared to overcome initial reactions of dread and disgust and developed an acceptance of, and eventually pride in the job.

Example 1

I.B. Is there anything you mind doing? You might find some people might mind toileting and cleaning up people who are messed up. Do you find ... how did you find it at first?

Lyn Well, when I first went I thought I'd be sick and feel awful, but I didn't think about it, I didn't think about it like, I just did it, and it didn't bother me.

I.B. And how long did it take you to be completely used to it? Have you got used to it?

Lyn I think I were used to it as soon as I went there.

Example 2

I.B. How did you feel about your friend going on to do 'A' levels compared with what you're doing? Has that ever been a problem to you?

Kay At first, I mean I've said to you before, when you first came I said ... I were ashamed to say I worked with old people, because they sort of look at you and go 'Ugh, God, how can you do it'. And I say 'Someone's got to do it', but like now I say 'Because I enjoy doing it', you know, I'm not ashamed of it any more, I were at first you see. And then she went back to do her 'A' levels. I felt jealous in a way because I knew I was never up to that standard. I could have never done 'A' levels, I mean I couldn't do 'O' levels. I can't do exams. And I'm not, I don't know, I'm not very good at exams and I could never have done any 'A' levels. At first I felt jealous and then I thought, well, now I don't feel jealous at all, because she's happy doing what she's doing and I'm ever so happy doing what I'm doing. So why should I feel jealous when I've chosen something and it's right for me as a course. At first when she were, you know, staying on I did feel jealous, I felt envious that she could do that.

.....

No. They like build up inside and we didn't see each other for a few months and then we got ... I got to the point where I were bitchy with her, I was envious that she'd got things that I hadn't got and I knew that I could never do it, but I turn the tables and think, 'well, she can't do what I'm doing, she couldn't do that, so ... you know

In the first example Lynne reports that she worried about what her reaction would be but that once she had done the job she accepted it. Kay seems to have experienced more difficulty, particularly because of the reactions to the job of one significant other, a friend studying 'A' levels. This association appears to represent an obstruction to her own adjustment until she reaches a point where she "turns the tables", or inverts the value system according to which her

friend's occupation has more status. The data suggests that at some point during the first year the girls undergo a "rite de passage", which will need further exploration. The result was that by the end of the first year they were keen to try alternative placements, particularly ones where they might be kept on. When real jobs became vacant in any home, girls applying were nervous and anxious for weeks before interview and success was a highly celebrated affair. Second year YTS "care girls" desperately want to be "care assistants".

Thus, while by school-leaving age girls were already oriented in the direction of working class, gender-stereotyped jobs, further significant adjustments to their career plans occurred in the course of the elongated transitions which followed. Kay's account of how she eventually "turned the tables" and became proud, instead of ashamed, of what she was doing illustrates this type of adjustment. Ambitions were twice, if not thrice, "cooled out". Firstly, they were "cooled out" when, just before school-leaving, they began to apply for YTS schemes, including "Caring". However, the recruitment strategy, which involved coupling these jobs with more desirable jobs such as nursery nursing under the general euphemistic label of "Caring", meant that a further second stage of "cooling out" was then necessary. Consideration of the evidence of drop-outs suggests that during this period those who adjusted most readily already possessed the requisite cultural resources; males and the more sensitive girls were likely to leave the scheme. Finally, if unsuccessful in getting jobs as care assistants at the end of the scheme, trainees might well need to adjust their aspirations a third time and consider factory work. These findings are consistent with Wallace's extended model of the phasing of social and cultural reproduction (Wallace, 1987). Nevertheless, for most girls the "extended" process was relatively compressed, occurring over about nine months

between leaving school at Easter and the end of the first term on YTS. This was the period during which they appeared to feel most distress and anxiety. Once their commitment to working with old people was firmed up, anxiety seemed to be reduced, re-surfacing towards the end of the second year of YTS.

EXPLAINING TRAINEE ADJUSTMENT TO THEIR CAREERS: SOCIAL CLASS, GENDER AND YTS

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that it is a highly socially constrained form of 'wannabee' (Roberts, 1988) which leads 16 year old girls to long for jobs working with the senile, the dying and the dead. The problem then is to explore the nature of these constraints.

At one level, what is identified here is a transhistorical, cross-cultural, and now well-documented phenomenon: a consequence of patriarchy. The social construction of gender-based divisions of labour has for centuries depended upon ideologies and social structures involving channelling of girls towards domestic, familial and nursing roles which are accorded relatively low status and rewards. Family, mass media and education have been identified as strongly implicated in these processes which are interwoven in complex ways with social class divisions (see e.g. Sharpe, 1976; Deem, 1980; Walker and Barton, 1983). Recent evidence suggests that the growth of feminism and equal opportunities policies may have had little impact on the situation overall. (Cockburn, 1987).

These general analyses, however, only dimly illuminate, firstly, the level of lived experience and, secondly, the current context. Taking the first point, versions of appropriate female roles vary to some extent according to the age of the female. The occupations these girls were entering are more congruent with a

middle-aged, maternal femininity, than with that of adolescence. Consequently, there are contradictions involved for them which need to be reconciled. Viewed in terms of the transitions of the 1980s, these analyses also fall short. The processes involved in social and cultural reproduction are not static but are likely to develop specific variations in different historical periods. The question I wish to examine in relation to the data on "care girls" is what are the particular processes through which they are being channelled towards sex-stereotyped, working class careers in the context of high unemployment, and the youth training scheme, taken together with the potentially contradictory impact of feminism and equal opportunities policies.

The purpose in locating the Sheffield ethnographic studies in education and training settings was partly informed by interests in the role of education and training in social and cultural reproduction. In the following analysis of 'Care girls' on the Youth Training Scheme it will be argued that the scheme itself does indeed contribute to the shaping of their career paths and that it is partly as a result of the interplay between their fear of unemployment and their involvement in aspects of YTS that the girls come to inhabit the role of care-worker with conviction and commitment. This is not to suggest that YTS is the sole key to understanding the social reproduction of what are, essentially, extended domestic careers. The ethnographic data on the whole indicates the need to view the social shaping of careers in terms of a highly complex interactive set of macro and micro factors. However, it also suggests that the Youth Training Scheme makes its own particular contribution to the 'economic socialization' of the 'Care girls'. Its significance needs to be understood not as an independent source of influence on the girls' career paths and construction of subjectivities. Rather it should be viewed as a mediating

mechanism; it provides an institutional context which absorbs, selects, organizes and transmits wider social forces so that participants experience their press in concentrated form. Consequently, the influence of YTS needs to be examined contextually, in relation to 'extra-scheme' factors such as occupational destinations, occupational cultures, family backgrounds and youth cultures as well as in relation to 'intra-scheme' factors, with which these then interract.

In the analysis which follows I shall consider the inter-relationship between the girls' domestic careers in the family context and the hidden and visible curriculum of YTS. The contribution of YTS is examined in terms of four specific socialization functions which are identified as: screening for cultural resources; organizing exposure to the labour market; segregation; and vocationally specific training.

Domestic Careers in the Family Context

As has now frequently been argued it is simplistic and misleading to view curricula, or other ideological processes as socializing young people mechanistically or in isolation from other social influences. In particular training programmes and curricula interract with, filter and are further shaped by the cultural backgrounds and resources which students themselves bring to classrooms and training workshops. The YTS 'Caring' course appeared to both select and reinforce specific forms of gender socialization, initially developed in the family context.

In the course of the college day girls frequently talked about their lives at home and their involvement in domestic work was clearly a source of tension. "Family talk" revealed the well-documented, uneven distribution of labour between girls and brothers, mothers and fathers. It also suggested that the presence, rather than the absence, of physical violence was regarded as normal. "Getting a crack round the ear 'ole", getting "belted", "smacked", "pasted", "beaten up" are frequently referenced, implicating mothers and boyfriends rather than fathers. Perhaps more significantly for the purposes of this research "family talk" revealed something of the girls' strategies for survival.

"I Count to Ten"

(The 'she' Kay refers to is her mother. Gavin is her brother)

Kay: ... I try my hardest in that house. I'll do everything in the house. Yet she'll still have something to get at me ... I just count to ten, go upstairs to my bedroom and try and keep my calm ... If I can't count to ten, I have to, I hit the wall, I go mad.

I.B. Can you give me an example of the sort of thing you're talking about which makes you absolutely furious?

Kay Yes. Last Sunday, she's working full-time now and last Sunday I did the dinner. I mean there's Gavin in the house and he doesn't do a damned thing and he's not been to school since he were 13 and he doesn't even wash a pot. He brought a dog into the house and he won't take that a walk, he won't feed it, he won't wash it, he won't do anything for her and I had to walk the dog, I did the dinner, I washed all the pots and tidied ... and Sunday is my day to tidy round, do the polishing and that, I did all the house through and I hoovered up. And she come in ... no, and the night before she said 'I won't want any dinner, I'll have dinner at work', I said 'O.K., fair enough', and then she come in, there was some dinner left, I put it on a plate, it's up to you whether you have it or not. I said 'You don't have to have it because I know you said you didn't want none'. And she says ... she had it anyway, what did she say when she walked in? She said something, I don't know, she says 'Oh this cooker looks a state', I says 'I've done the top, but I'm not scrubbing, why should I do that?', 'Well you could have scrubbed it', I said, well that's it now I can't just ignore it, I says ... and then she hardly ever ate the dinner, she says 'I don't like the way you do your cabbage, Kay'. I said 'Don't eat it then', and then she says 'I don't like the way you do it', I said 'Don't eat it then, I like it, my dad liked it and our Gavin liked it, don't eat it if you don't want it'. She says 'No, I'll eat it'. And I made her a cup of tea, 'This tea's too strong'

and everything were wrong, and I thought 'Oh you do all this', I says ... and then in the end I'd got that mad, I didn't count to ten, and I turned round and said 'You haven't said thank you for everything I've done, you've contradicted everything I've done' I says 'and I've had enough of it'. She says 'Look at the state of the front room', I says 'I've tidied it, he's been in and messed it up again'. She said 'Why haven't you made Gavin's bed?'. Oh I could have killed her, honestly.

While this incident has exploded ultimately in Kay's resistance, it reflects high levels of accommodation both to domestic labour per se and to inequitable proportions of it, relative to her brother. She has taught herself to "count to ten", then to "hit the wall", as alternatives to open resistance, which it had emerged from other conversations could end up in a "pasting". She fights back only as a last resort strategy when her level of oppression has gone beyond the point she has schooled herself to accept.

It was noticeable that the domestic contributions of the "care girls" extended beyond large amounts of housework to include care for younger brothers and sisters. For example Jane explained her regular duty of looking after her five year old brother when sick at night.

Tutor: Does Roger share your room?

Jane: No, but there's a spare bed in my room so if like he's not very well or he wakes up in the night, he usually comes in that bed, so like in a morning I'm creeping about (....) so it sort of restricts you.

I.B.: (....) You know you said earlier about your brother Roger? Does he come in your room every night then?

Jane: No, not every night. If he's, he suffers with ... he chokes a lot, you know, when he's laid on his back, he's sick most nights. So like rather than me mum taking him into her bed and disturbing me dad, he comes into my bedroom and he sleeps in the spare bed.

Domestic work also included care for babies of relatives and for grandparents. Thus one consequence of the extended family more typical of working class communities was that it called for extended domestic contributions from its daughters, particularly when mothers were working.

It is beyond the scope of this ethnography to explore the family context in depth. The concern here is with the interface between cultural resources acquired through family experience and the process of becoming a care assistant through YTS. Clearly the experience of domestic work, serving others, denying their own needs (e.g. for regular sleep at night, for time off on Sunday) were demands to which these working class girls were well-accustomed by the age of sixteen. Possibly more important, given the specific demands of the job as outlined above, is the characteristic stoicism which Kay, for example, had clearly found it necessary to acquire for the purposes of survival at home and which many of the girls exhibited.

Screening for cultural resources

Turning to YTS itself, an important latent function emerging from the data is the screening of girls for possession of these cultural resources. The majority of tutors and trainers who work with the girls have a background in "caring" or nursing and are steeped in the associated occupational cultures. Central to these cultures is the definition of what it takes to be a "good care assistant" and this appears to be partly defined in terms of a certain "toughness" and a capacity to be long-suffering and unsqueamish. Essentially the girls need to be able to accommodate to a brutalizing form of work without becoming brutal. Working class girls, particularly those whose family experience has exposed them to harsher sides of life, would appear to be ideal candidates, being hardened by their previous experience but, crucially, constrained by gender from developing a pattern of violent response. Under the dual influence of class and gender they will typically "hit the wall" before they hit back.

"Screening" for such qualities takes place at several stages. On entry girls are interviewed and enquiries are made about their previous experience of the sorts of tasks likely to be involved. Previous successful experience of looking after granny or nursing is likely to be advantageous in securing a place on the scheme. During training further screening is carried out on placements, in reviews, on the course. The training culture permeates the social culture and girls also informally assess one another in these respects. Hence the importance of the conversation which was quoted in the introduction to this paper. There are strong pressures not to be "mardy", or in Mat's terms "a bleeding, whining minnie". Trainees who are too "mardy" are likely to drop out, for example Judy and Tim. The least "mardy", such as Mat, are held in a certain awe within the group. Most crucially, "care girls" are screened on exit. At the point of being interviewed for a job, tutors' reports become significant and tend to revolve around the extent to which girls fulfil a "good care assistant" stereotype. These processes of prolonged screening would appear to pull girls from "tougher" sections of the working class through this particular system as assuredly as Oxbridge pulls public schoolboys. Hence the long transition of YTS, contrary to hopes which have been expressed that it might prove an opportunity for career exploration, can possibly tighten, through its sifting mechanisms, inter-relationships between social class, gender, occupational culture of origin and occupational destinations. This will need further investigation.

Organizing Exposure to the Labour Market

Why does anyone put up with what, in one sense, amounts to a two year interview for a low-paid job working with the senile, the dying and the dead? It is important to recognize that the screening outlined above takes place in the

context of high unemployment and considerable competition for jobs. Unemployment has its "social conditioning" effects as Willis (1986) has pointed out. Arguably, however, it is less effective in these terms than YTS, which organized the girls' exposure to the highly competitive nature of the labour market. As a result of being grouped together on the YTS scheme, the girls are made acutely conscious of the competition for jobs in old people's homes. Considerable rivalry develops in their attempts to secure promising work placements. Occasions when girls are interviewed are treated as major events; questions are recounted in detail and appropriate answers rehearsed. YTS converts the objective fact of unemployment into a constantly repeated subjective experience from which, without this structure, they would presumably eventually begin to protect themselves. One effect of this is that for most girls the two year screening process, far from reducing their commitment to the occupation of care assistant, enhances the desirability of the goal.

Segregation

The socializing effects of competition for jobs would appear to be further intensified by the highly segregated setting of the YTS Caring scheme. While the off-the-job training is provided in a college of further education, the YTS provision is relatively ghetto-ized. The girls frequently expressed the view that they were treated as low status "nobodies" in college and did not have access to the full range of college facilities.

Sarah: .... they treat you like muck, don't they.

I.B.: In work or in college?

Sarah: No, in college. When you're in college they think 'ah YTS we'll kick them out of that room and we'll put a college course in".

Alison: Like NNEB nurses and community care.

Sarah: They think 'Oh they're better than them, so we'll kick them out and we'll put them in that room'. So we're out in the cold mobiles while the NNEB and the community care course is in there. Nice and warm. We're sat here freezing.

Alison: With the windows open as well. Wake you all up or something, thought you might faint when you're hearing about all that bleeding. (Types of bleeding from First Aid Course)

In general the girls experienced little contact with other students, nor with the wide range of courses on offer in the college, nor with different forms of youth culture. The main alternative on offer was within the YTS Caring scheme, where there are some placements for working in children's nurseries. These were limited, however, and rarely led to employment, which generally required an NNEB certificate. Consequently, not only are girls strongly pulled towards the vocational identity of care assistant, they are pushed away from exploring alternative vocations and lifestyles.

Vocationally Specific Training

The above functions of YTS - screening, labour market exposure and segregation - comprise a hidden curriculum which appears to accelerate and intensify the trainees' occupational identification with the role of care assistant. The most obvious link, however, between YTS and the social construction of the girls' extended domestic careers is the official curriculum. This, in contrast with the rhetoric of "transferable" skills, which is supposed to inform such curricula, is in effect highly vocationally specific. The data on the official curriculum is extensive and full consideration is beyond the scope of this paper; the following account simply briefly outlines its key features.

The trainees are in college for off-the-job training two days a week in the

three main types of curricular input: caring skills; general/social studies and tutorial time; and "options". The central component is "caring skills" which provides college-based training for "caring" occupations. General studies and tutorial time is used to cover a miscellany of topics but these were generally related to "caring for people", the emphasis is upon complementary rather than contrasting subject matter. Options this year, with the exception of computing, while they go beyond "caring" in subject matter, are simply being drawn from the "glamorous" end of the scale of gender-stereotyped vocational training: hairdressing, beauty therapy or cooking.

The major proportion of college time is spent on "caring skills". Work is planned around modules, which consist of about twenty lesson objectives related to a thematic "module" title. Modules observed this year were related to three themes: care for the elderly; looking after children; and pregnancy. Examined in terms of breadth the skills they were acquiring could be applied in three occupations: care of the elderly; childcare and mother. As has already been indicated girls were unlikely to obtain jobs in child-care. Consequently the caring skills programme prepared them for a combination of two occupational roles, only one of which was paid employment: care assistant and motherhood.

Summary and Some Conclusions

In some respects the job of care assistant, or attendant, in homes for the elderly presents a critical case for examining the role of choice and adjustment in the transition from school to work. Viewed from a variety of angles, including the initial perspectives of the trainees themselves, the jobs can be seen as highly undesirable. The unattractiveness of the job is also implicitly acknowledged by the ideology of "caring" and the coupling, within the YTS programme, with training for child-care both of which appear to serve recruitment functions. Most importantly, the girls themselves do not want to do

the job until they embark on the YTS scheme. This is problematic, whether viewed from the perspective of structural functionalist or social reproduction theories, since, at this juncture, the structures to which the girls have so far been exposed have not achieved the effect of bringing their aspirations into line with labour market opportunities. This is not to suggest that the work of "reproduction" has not been done. Rather, the reverse; it is simply not quite complete; the results are ragged and unstable. While oriented in the general direction of gender-stereotyped working class jobs, these girls, on leaving school, are, nevertheless, still hankering after unrealizable goals, for example, hairdressing, working in big department stores or looking after children. They are thus liable to become frustrated, float, and, since in this economic climate they are unable to "job hop" their way through a process of adjustment, to sink. Some of the ethnographic data relating to the "care girls" has been examined from this perspective and suggests the possibility that the YTS scheme itself, through its hidden and official curriculum, plays a significant part in promoting further adjustment in the girls' aspirations.

However, the influence of the scheme may remain relatively opaque unless viewed in the context of occupationally specific career trajectories. In order to explore the bridging and channelling functions of YTS it is useful to explore examples of the cultural territory on each side of the "bridge". Hence the occupational culture of "caring" and the implicit definition of a "good care assistant" have been sketched out. One important dimension of this definition is a conception of an appropriate balance between "toughness" and sensitivity. The girls need to be "hard" enough and able to detach themselves from some aspects of the job in order to survive. The managerial problem then posed is to prevent this "hardness" degenerating into cruelty and thus exploding the "care" paradigm. Consequently, hardness, mediated by "feminine" virtues of self-restraint, kindness and sensitivity are the ideal qualities for the job and I have proposed the possibility that these qualities are most readily supplied

by working class girls. Turning to the other side of the 'bridge', the girls' accounts of their home lives support this hypothesis, being rich in description of domestic work, nursing, physical violence, and a variety of other forms of family oppression. The labour market problem is to bring these girls to accept more, rather than less of this, in their future occupational roles.

One particular barrier which has been identified is "femininity", as projected through mass media stereotypes and commonly construed by teenagers. It has been suggested that the girls experience tension between the identity demands of such femininity and the occupational requirements of their jobs. For occupational adjustment to take place, without the experience of identity conflict, and possibly "gender crisis", the girls need to work upon and reconstruct versions of "femininity". There is some evidence in the ethnographic data that this is, indeed, what they attempt to do and, moreover, that these processes are integral to their adjustment to 'caring' careers.

Set within this general framework, some of the contributions of the YTS scheme become more transparent and it becomes possible to grapple with the significance of particular features of the programme. Four possible socialization processes, embedded within the scheme, have been suggested: screening for cultural resources; organizing exposure to the labour market; segregation and vocationally specific training. The categories are tentative and will need further examination in the course of the research. Crudely summarizing, the scheme first sifts the group of prospective trainees for 'suitability'. It then exposes them to one long interview, akin to one long "balloon game", in which the group of girls gradually shrinks as members are successively "taken on". This takes place in the context of a highly segregated, ghetto-ized group, which allows few opportunities for exploring alternative identities. Anxieties about being taken on, in these circumstances, become particularly acute, inducing a willingness to acquire relevant "skills"

and patterns of behaviour. Highly specific training is supplied in abundance. Thus YTS becomes a most effective crucible for occupational socialization, a narrowing tunnel in which the job of care assistant represents the light at the end.

It should be stressed, however, that YTS itself is not the source of the socializing influences to which the girls are exposed, although they may experience it as such and react antagonistically towards the scheme (2). Such influences can be traced back to the structure of the labour market, occupational culture, working class culture, youth culture and gender. However, such macro-level social forces do not necessarily impinge consistently on all individuals. Unemployment, in particular, and the accompanying lack of contact with social institutions, can begin to divorce the "micro" from the "macro". The significance of YTS appears to be that it organizes relevant social influences so that the girls experience their press in concentrated form and can calculate the import for their own careers. These socially induced calculations, which may appear, at an individual level as the exercize of choice, complete a process through which female labour is brought to "caring" careers.

Footnotes

1. For a summary account of the Sheffield Studies see appendix to this paper.

2. Overall in this paper I have concentrated on accommodation to work through YTS. I have not examined the girls' resistance to these pressures, within a general pattern of accommodation., This was omnipresent, but exploration of the subtleties and interplay are beyond the scope of this paper.

Appendix. ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES WITHIN THE ESRC 16-19 INITIATIVE

One of the major unifying concerns of the various research projects which comprise the ESRC 16-19 Initiative is the study of processes of and outcomes of 'economic and political socialization'. Within the Sheffield team we have interpreted these processes broadly in terms of the 'incorporation of young people into society' (Abrams, Emler and Jamieson, 1986). We have emphasized, however, the need to examine the new career trajectories of the 1980s and 1990s (see e.g. Gray, 1989) and the ways in which young people come to enter and experience the different tracks. In developing causal explanations we have drawn particularly on theoretical perspectives and insights from the sociology of education, and more generally, on theories of social reproduction (see Bates, 1987).

A distinctive feature of our methodological approach has been the inclusion of a group of ethnographic studies situated at a variety of levels within the new education and training systems. The groups have been selected in the light of the typology of career trajectories generated through analysis of the 16-19 Initiative's main sample and include, where possible, individuals from the larger sample. At present the studies include: a group of young people moving through the sixth form to higher education; a group on a vocational course within further education expecting to enter skilled employment; and groups of 'lasses' and 'lads' on different programmes within the two year Youth Training Scheme likely to enter semi-skilled work, or, possibly, become unemployed. The research design for the ethnographic studies thus allows possibilities for comparison of the experience of youth across the hierarchy of tracks, leading to different occupational strata, within the new education and training systems. It also allows scope for exploring gender-related patterns of socialization within the various trajectories. Our interest in covering a range of groups reflects a concern to move beyond single-site case studies towards comparative ethnography, an approach now advocated by a number of writers (e.g. Woods, 1987; Hammersley, 1987; Finch, 1980). At the same time, however, we are attempting to balance a degree of pre-determination of the lines of comparison with a reflexive research design which allows for theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in the light of emerging categories. Consequently, the initial research design needs to be regarded as exploratory and likely to be developed further in the light of fieldwork.

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